1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

575 the support of politicians, warlords as well as capitalists. Even the Kuomintang leaders had to come to terms with the society in their campaign against the warlords, and the Japanese occupation forces during 1937-1945 utilized Ch'ing-pang organizations to rout Communist underground agents.[8]

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

647 596 178 Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite became contributing factors to the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

621 423 565 367 There was no change in the social composition of the rural population in the past several decades. As of old, the village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; and village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of which owned land; the village gentry, that is to say the local leaders were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[9]

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8. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

9. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

filial piety was extolled above all others in the Confucian system. It denoted not only the obedience and devotion of the son to his father, but of the younger to the elder, and of the subject to the ruler.

Two types of organizations built on the foundation of the family were utilized by the state in maintaining peace and uniformity throughout the empire. One was the clan, or tsu. It bound together families with a common ancestor to promote their security and advancement. Relying for strength on the maximizing and formalizing of kinship ties, the tsu reinforced the authority of the family head and the values he imparted to the younger generation. The tsu settled disputes between families, conducted ancestor rites for any member of a family whose line died out, provided help and protection in times of trouble for the lower class members, and safeguarded the social and economic position of the well-to-do. Where the tsu was strong, it governed the village with little interference from the central government, except in matters of high crime and taxes. The advantages to the Confucian state of the tsu were deemed sufficient to compensate for its encroachment on the state's jurisdiction.[5]

In gathering together all the members of

5. On the clan see Hu Hsien-chin, The Common Descent Group in China and Its Functions (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology no. 10), New York, The Viking Fund, Inc., 1948.

618 the tsu for the yearly rites honoring its ancestors,
621 this social institution served to bring the poor and uncultured into contact with, and under the influence of, the well-to-do and educated gentry. Its more accomplished members headed the clan and represented the closest approximation to the ideal of the "superior man" (chün tzu). Meetings with such men, whose behavior was patterned by leisure and education beyond the means of the great majority of society, provided the lower classes with living models for emulation and opportunities to impress the young with the proper attitude of respect toward their social superiors.

631 Another institution based on the family utilized by the state was the pao-chia system. As it was constituted under the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644 to 1912) and again in the 1930's by the Nationalist Government, ten adjacent families were grouped as a p'ai, ten p'ai as a chia, and ten chia, or one thousand households, as a pao. The head of each unit was responsible for the conduct and defense of those households under him, and the head of the pao had to answer to the government for the conduct and protection of the thousand households.

D. Economic Role

423 596 As the definition of the term "family" infers, it was the basic economic unit of the society. Real property such as land, houses,

241 and Shantung into the whole of North China was essentially the steady outward push of an efficient agricultural technique which displaced the more primitive aboriginal food-gatherers and primitive slash-burn agriculturists, abosrbed most of these people into its operation, and drove the remnants higher and higher into the hills. The characteristically Chinese agriculture is intensive, that is, it uses large quantities of human labor in irrigating, fertilizing, and cultivating land for 361 maximum yields. Its unit of socio-economic 621 organization is the village, composed of those families which cultivate the surrounding fields within easy walking distance of its center. It was in the villages of rural China, spread over a vast area to exploit the land through a common technology, that the characteristic way of life developed. It is his family's village which is "home" to any Chinese, no matter what his class, how far he may wander, or how Westernized his life may have become. There are perpetuated the ties with his own family's past, symbolized by the ancestral temple and the family or clan burial ground. There are the other families with which his own has built an enduring pattern of reciprocal favors and obligations. It is in the farming villages that the Communists are seeking to bring about fundamental changes in the way of life and to break up the old complex of family and local loyalties.

What are the common patterns of village life from the Yellow River plain to the loess highlands and mountains of Shansi? We shall sketch these before discussing variations represented by urban life.

511 hundred years as factory-made goods destroyed village handicrafts, usury and tenancy increased, wars and ineffectual governments brought disruption and oppression, and overpopulation became steadily worse. "The most bankrupt countryside in Asia is the Chinese. The worst crisis of overpopulation China has yet had to face has been accompanied by a breakdown of traditional ideas and traditional authority so complete as to lead to a state of near anarchy."[2]

182 178 621 The characteristic way of life of the peasants has been slowly disintergrating under manifold pressures. During prosperous periods in the past a delicate balance of human and economic factors fostered a crowded, conformist, but on the whole harmonious village life. Recent decades have seen the old harmony replaced by tension and a predatory struggle for survival. And, despite the isolation of most villages, ideas and ideals from the West have slowly undermined the authority of the older mores and customary laws.

Despite all the fissures that have developed, it is well to remember that peasant life everywhere has a tremendous inertia, that it is incredibly resistant to all the forces of change. Thus much of the sweeping change that occurred in city life under comparable pressures did not occur in the peasant villages.

000 The main economic and social unit of the village is the family, and a special study is de-

2. Maurice Zinkin, Asia and the West, London, 1951, p.111.

521 Perhaps the most universal recreation was, as in all illiterate communities, gossip and desultory conversation about the weather, the crops, the iniquity of the government, local disputes, and, on their rare occurrence, lawsuits involving fellow villagers. Despite the grim
181 struggle for survival, the average villager tended to be cheerful, self-respecting, and possessed of a robust sense of humor. He went through life with a continuous concern for his own "face" or prestige among his fellows and with the strong determination and unceasing faith that, despite all, the fortunes of his family would steadily improve.

B. The Pattern of Urban Life

621 Urban life, although it meant a different pattern of work, was closely akin to life in the villages. Town and city dwellers -- perhaps 20 per cent of China's population -- kept their ties with their native villages, returned there whenever possible, and many saw commercial activity in the town only as a means to the acquisition of sufficient wealth to buy farming land and return to the village.[10] The town population, then, was mostly made up of artisans and peasants, plus a small number of landlords, retired officials, county functionaries, and es-
000 tablished merchant families. The county seats

10. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million, pp. 18-19. The 1953 Communist census credits cities and towns (undefined) with 13.26 per cent of the Mainland population.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AP12 North China AP12

511 expenditure for chopsticks was 14 cents per family. Only five other items averaged as much as 10 cents per family per year, and only one, bowls, averaged as much as 20 cents.

Soap and hair cuts were the only two health items reported by all the families. The average annual expenditure was 26 cents for soap and 17 cents for hair cuts. The two families that bought toothbrushes and toothpaste spent a total of 75 cents for those items. Only four families spent any money for shaves and three for baths. The average expenditure for medicine was $1.22.

Educational items were reported by only 19 families. Their total expenditure was $18.32, an average of 96 cents. The expenditure for books was only 3.5 cents per person. Only three families said they paid school tuition. Their total expenditure was $4.12, an average of $1.37 per family.

The 70 cents spent for religion bought an average of three packages of paper money of 88 sheets each, 1.2 packages of yellow paper of 96 sheets each, and 2.7 bundles of incense. The price of the incense was five cents per bundle, of the paper 10 cents per package.

701 An assessment was levied on all families for the support of the army. It totaled $84.74. The amount per family varied from 60 cents to $4.80.
511 It averaged some 8.0 cents a mu for all the land farmed by the 34
426 families, but it was 8.7 cents per mu for the land owned and 8.25 cents per mu on the land owned and held under mortgage. It seems clear that the owner of rented land was required to pay the assessment. Other studies generally indicated that it was the mortgagee who paid on the mortgaged land. The amounts reported by the individual families varied from 8.0 to 12.5 cents per mu on the land owned and from 4.1 to 12.5 cents per mu on the land owned and held under mortgage.

511 The village assessment for home guards, schools, etc. totaled $68.89.
621 It averaged 7.1 cents per mu on the land owned and 6.7 cents per mu on the owned and mortgaged land. On the latter basis, the amounts for the individual families varied from 2.5 to 8.4 cents per mu, but for 21 of the families the amount was between 7.0 and 7.4 cents inclusive. As other studies have generally indicated that the village assessments were levied according to the number of mu a family owned or held under mortgage, it is not clear why there was such a difference in the amounts paid per mu unless the amount of the assessment was related to the quality of the land. Different rates for the three villages in which our

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AFL. North China AFL

families lived might account for some, but hardly for all, of the differences.

Miscellaneous included two payments on debts and the expenditure for the one funeral reported. The debt payments were $31.00 and $15.50. The funeral cost $13.49.

TABLE 36. AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY, FARM, HOUSE, INCOME

Income Group	No. of Families	Average No. of Persons	Average A.M.E.[1]	Average C.C.U.[2]	Mu per Family	Mu per Person
$100–200	8	3.8	2.8	2.8	14.8	3.9
200–300	9	5.9	4.5	4.1	27.7	4.7
300–400	14	6.7	5.3	4.9	40.6	6.1
400–500	3	9.3	7.4	6.8	41.8	4.5
Average		6.0	4.7	4.4	31.2	5.2

Income Group	Rooms per Family	Persons per Room	Income per Family	Income per Person	Income per A.M.E.[1]
$100–200	4.6	0.8	$166.75	$35.80	$58.50
200–300	6.6	0.9	262.65	40.70	59.40
300–400	8.2	0.8	345.00	46.70	64.90
400–500	6.6	1.5	454.65	46.20	61.45
Average	6.7	0.9	290.95	43.70	61.35

[1] Adult Male Equivalent. [2] Cost Consumption Unit.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER VII

Chai Ch'eng, A Model Village

621 CHAI CH'ENG was known as the model village of the model hsien and was very proud of the fact. It was so designated after the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü, appreciating the progress already made by the village, petitioned the Provincial Government in 1914 for permission to develop it as a model village that would be an example to all of Ting Hsien. This designation brought about great activity in community organization. It also meant an annual grant to the village budget of $600 from the hsien government.

According to tradition Chai Ch'eng had been a walled village for some 1,600 years, since about the time of the Eastern Tsin dynasty. It was located 30 li east of the hsien city (see map, page 5) and in 1930 it was the largest village in area in the 3rd District (11,170 mu, 20.7 square li), and the largest in number of families (366). It had more families even than the nearby market town of Tung T'ing. The village area was divided as follows:

Farm land	9,500 mu	Dry and barren	1,100 mu
Fruit trees	20 mu	Roads	50 mu
Other trees	200 mu	Inside village	300 mu

The five streets of the village were named for the five Chinese virtues, Benevolence, Righteousness, Propriety, Wisdom, and Faith. In the political reorganization of 1929 the streets were used as the basis for the political division of the village. The families were divided into five groups: i.e., those living on each of the five streets.

The population was 2,085 persons, 1,110 males and 975 females, an average of 5.7 persons per family. The masculinity rate, 114, was considerably above the 106 rate of the 515 and 5,255 families. For the five streets the size of the average family varied from 4.6 to 7.3, the masculinity rate from 138 to 97. Judging from our studies of other groups

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

621

of Ting Hsien families,[1] it seems probable that the wealthier families of the village were living on Propriety Street. There the size of the average family was 7.3, the masculinity rate 97. The poorer families apparently lived on Benevolence, Wisdom, and Faith Streets, where the family averages were all less than 5.0 and the masculinity rates from 117 to 138. The average family residence had an area of 0.82 mu, about 60 by 100 feet.

There were 19 different family names in the village. There were 130 Mi, 73 Ch'in, 48 Chang, 33 Han, 27 Li, 12 T'ung, and 10 Hsü families. The other names all had less than 10 families. Three names, Ch'iu, Ch'en, and Chao, had only one family each. The Mi and Ch'in clans together included 57 per cent of the population. The average Mi family had 6.4 members, the Ch'ins 4.9, the Hsüs 7.1, and the Lis 7.2.

The development of Chai Ch'eng was greatly stimulated and assisted by members of the Mi family. Mr. Mi Chien-san worked out plans for the development of a village self-government program as far back as 1902. Soon after the establishment of the Republic he organized, at his own expense, girls' primary schools and higher primary schools for both boys and girls. His son, Mr. Mi Ti-kang, went to Japan for study. He was greatly interested in the program for the development and improvement of Japanese village life and brought back many new ideas. On his return he used his enthusiasm, position, and influence to bring about the giving up of temples, the establishment of schools, and changes in the village organization. He worked especially on the development of village self-government, for it was his opinion that "only by developing self-government in the villages could the families and the nation be united. As the village government stands between the families and the hsien and provincial governments, village improvement is the foundation that will insure the control of the families, the proper government of the state, and the pacification of the country". Later he was greatly concerned to see so many of the young people, who had been educated in the modern schools, leaving the villages and going to the cities.

Because Chai Ch'eng had done so much to improve its community organization and activities under the stimulus of its forward looking leaders, it was possible for them in 1926 successfully to invite the Mass Education Association to make the village the first headquarters of its

1. See Chapters II, III, and V.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

621 North China Experiment Station. Eleven other hsien sent invitations to the Association.

After Chai Ch'eng was made a model village in 1915 many different organizations were started as part of the village development program. Some of these functioned successfully and continuously; some were later reorganized with different names and committees but with similar activities; others continued for a time; some failed to operate after the first meeting. They were all kept, however, as part of the village organization and reported to any visitors interested in the story of Chai Ch'eng's development as a model village.

Village Government

The Self-Government Council was organized in October, 1915. It was made up of the village head, the vice-head, and eight other members representing the eight self-government districts into which the village was then divided. The Council took over the functions that had been exercised by an earlier village government, the Public Service Bureau, which had had similar powers and a fairly similar organization, with a village head and vice-head and a group of influential men as councilors. The members of the Self-Government Council were chosen by the influential men of the village rather than by popular suffrage. It met regularly once a month and at other times at the call of the village head.

The headquarters of the Council was in the village office, located at the main crossroads of the village. In July, 1915, the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü gave the village a subsidy of $300 toward the cost of erecting the village office. It was a three-room building, rebuilt from an old temple. The office hours were from 8 to 10 A.M. and 3 to 6 P.M. daily, except Sundays. The village clerk was on duty from 8 to 12 A.M. and from 1 to 6 P.M.

The work of the Council was divided into two sections, financial and non-financial. There were two officers in the financial section who dealt with taxes, current accounts, and village budgets. The four officers in the general affairs section looked after education, public safety, census, encouraging the people to work, philanthropy, construction, sanitation, conscription, records, and all other non-financial items. The village heads served on a voluntary basis. The clerks were paid regular salaries. It is not clear whether the section officers were paid, but it seems evi-

621

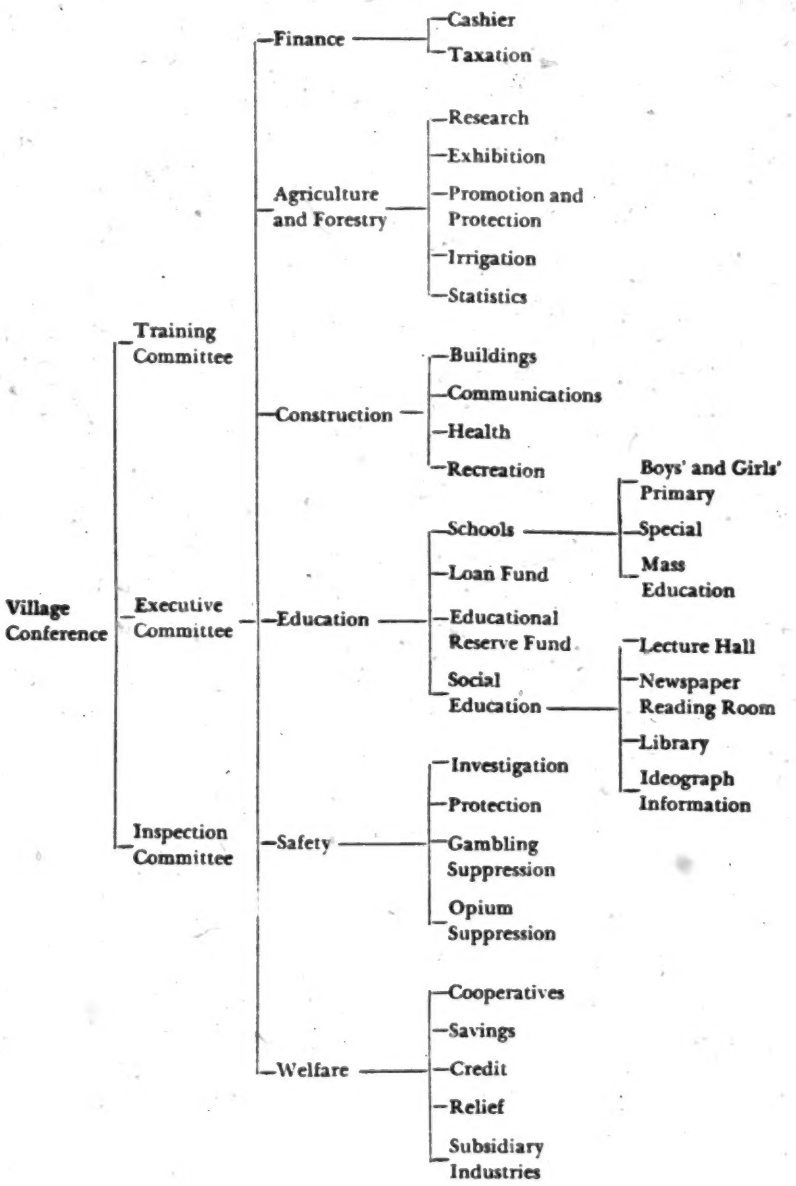

FIGURE 18. CHAI CH'ENG VILLAGE GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

[p. 149]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

621 dent that if they received anything more than expense money it was only a small stipend.

After the Nationalist forces reached North China in 1928 a new law was promulgated concerning the organization of the village governments. The village heads were to be elected by balloting at a village meeting where both men and women could vote. Representatives of the hsien government attended to see that the election was properly conducted. By this means it was hoped to overcome the control of the village government generally exercised by the wealthy and influential famili[illegible] The name of the village organization was changed from Self Government Council, Tzu Chih Hui, to Village Affairs Council, Ts'un Cheng Hui. The organization of the Council and its committees and activities are shown in Figure 18.

This very ambitious organizational program apparently was an attempt to adopt the ideas of progressive foreign town and city administrations. It was generally reported, however, that the actual administration of Chai Ch'eng was still carried on by the village elder and his close advisers.

At the same time that the village council was reorganized the eight self-government districts were abolished and the village was divided into five districts according to the five village streets. The 366 families were divided into 74 lin and 15 lü, five families to a lin and five lin, 25 families, to a lü. A head was appointed for each lin and lü who was to be held responsible for the members of the families under him.

Village Finance

621 The village accounts were not available for our study, so a complete
872 report on the village finances is not possible. However, it was reported that in 1904 the Public Service Bureau used the income of 405.5 mu of public land for the establishment of an elementary school. The income from that land, from additional land, and from other sources was not sufficient to meet the customary village expenses plus the cost of the school plus the other constructive activities desired by the village. Something had to be eliminated. It was the dramatic performances given to welcome the gods, the firing of firecrackers, and the building of a mat shed to protect the gods that were discontinued. All these were
621 connected with the celebration of the New Year. At least part of the money saved was used to purchase more village land. According to the

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

report of the village elders, the village land was increased to 600 mu. 621 This village land was rented to residents of the village for a cash rent that was collected in the early spring. The rent money formerly was held in turn by the men working under the village head, but later was collected and managed by the Finance Committee of the village Self-Government Council. The money could not be used without the signature of the village head.

In 1931 the village income was reported to be $3,100. Of this amount some $1,800 came from land rent, $600 from the Provincial Government for the model village program, $400 from the hsien educational bureau, and $300 from the hsien government for the village schools.

An estimate of the village expenditure gave the approximate total as $3,150, some $3,000 for education and $150 for other expenses. We cannot help wondering how the village met the expenses of the home guard, the night watch, etc. that were reported by other villages, plus the special expenditure for the model village program. The records speak of village funds being used for special items such as road repair and erection of school buildings. Amounts such as the $1,500 and $3,500 used for school buildings must have been financed by special assessments, probably pro rata, on the owners of the land within the village farm area. The crop watching was financed by contributions of grain collected from the farmers.

Land Tax Collection

"In order to stir up the spirit of the village for service to the country and for the convenience of the villagers", it was proposed at a village conference, called by the village head soon after the village government reorganization in October, 1915, that the village authorities should collect and remit to the hsien yamen the land taxes assessed by the hsien on the land in the village area. A set of regulations was adopted by the village meeting and two managers were appointed from each of the eight districts to help the district leader with the collection. The taxes were collected in the third month of 1916. The village head secured from the hsien yamen a list of families and the amount of land they held. A period of ten days was set for the payment of taxes to the district leaders. They turned the money over to the finance division officers, who sent it to the hsien office. The village families found it a very convenient way of paying taxes as it saved them the time and trouble of a

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 - AF12 North China AF12

621 trip to the hsien city and dealing with the yamen. One of the village elders estimated that this cooperative system saved at least $170 that would have to be paid for meals and travel under the old individual system. That amount would mean a saving of only 50 cents per family, so the amount might very well have been considerably more.

The cooperative tax collection was one of the model village activities that took root in Chai Ch'eng and was continued year after year.

Village Granary

621 731 A village granary was organized in the latter part of 1914 to help provide against famine and other calamities and to make it possible to aid the poor of the village. The farm families were divided into three groups, according to the amount of their land. After the harvest the first-class farmers contributed 0.07 tou per mu of land, second-class farmers 0.05 tou per mu, and third-class farmers 0.03 tou per mu. The amount collected from each family was entered in the village accounts. Special contributions were specially recorded to encourage a philanthropic spirit. A manager and five assistants operated the granary.

The granary regulations provided that the villagers might borrow grain from the granary, but they should give a pledge for their loan and pay interest when they returned the grain, generally after the harvest. If they borrowed 9 tou they should return 10 tou.

When a considerable amount of grain was accumulated, the granary manager could decide, with the village head, when it was a good time to sell the grain. The money secured was to be loaned at one per cent per month.

It was proposed that in times of famine or other calamity the money held by the granary should be used to buy grain, which, together with any in the granary, should be distributed as a loan to the poor families of the village. They were expected to repay the loans, if they could, when they had a good harvest.

The collection of grain by the granary was discontinued in 1927 because of the civil war, extra taxes, and hard times. The granary funds, however, were retained. In 1931 the amount was $1,200.

Cooperative Benefit Society

621 241 The Cooperative Benefit Society was started as the result of the suggestion made by Mr. Mi Shu-p'ing that the village should advance

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 -- AF12 North China AF12

money to purchase, from Wu Chi Hsien, cottonseed that would later be sold to the Chai Ch'eng farmers. This would save the time of the individual farmers and secure good seed for the cotton crop.

Later, about 1924, a complete cooperative organization was developed with a credit department, a cooperative store, and both a buyers' and a sellers' cooperative program. The business of the cooperative was directed by a Board of Trustees with a president and 10 members. The work was carried on by a business manager and an accountant. The capital of the cooperative, which amounted to $12,000 in 1931, was secured by the sale of shares at $50 each.

The finance and credit department was by far the most active part of the cooperative. Besides the original capital, it handled the funds of the village government and of other public organizations, the school endowment funds and the student loan fund, and savings of the villagers, and received deposits from the residents of Chai Ch'eng and of other villages. It was authorized to borrow money from banks, other organizations, and individuals. Most of the money handled by the cooperative was deposited in a money shop in the hsien city.

The society cleared its accounts at the end of every year and at the end of every three years it paid a distribution to its shareholders. The profits were divided into 12 parts. Two parts were kept as reserve, three parts were distributed to the employees as a bonus, and seven parts went to the shareholders. Before 1931 two dividends had been paid, the first one $28, the second $32 per share.

Savings Society

The Diligent and Thrifty Savings Society was organized in 1915 with a chairman and a committee of eight. One report said the village head was the chairman and the eight district leaders were the committee. The purpose was to persuade the people to save money, to create good customs, and to cultivate the habits of perseverance and honesty. All the village was invited to attend the meetings of the society and listen to lectures on savings and economy. Every family was asked to save at least 10 cents a month. The money collected was sent to the finance department of the village. The village head and the head of the finance department together determined how the money should be used to earn a profit. Interest was paid on deposits of more than $1.00. The accounts of the society were posted every year so that the villagers could

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

621 454 see the progress made. In 1924 the amount held by the society totaled $3,000. The society was still operating in 1931.

Patriotic and Improvement Societies

621 185 A Patriotic Society was organized in 1915 to help create patriotic feelings in the village. It had a head, a secretary, and an investigator. Its duties were to persuade the members to buy government bonds, encourage the young men to enlist when the government was recruiting soldiers, and promote the purchase of home-made goods. The magistrate Sun Fa-hsü came to Chai Ch'eng to give lectures on patriotism. After he left Ting Hsien, the patriotic society was discontinued and only its name remained.

The Virtue Put Into Practice Society was organized in 1914 and was especially active in 1915. Its meetings were attended by some 150 men. Women held separate meetings with some 80 attending. After 1917 the society gradually declined and the meetings were discontinued. In 1931 only the name remained.

The Work Together Society was organized in 1915 to develop public spirit. It had a head and a committee of nine. Its purpose was to create mutual friendship, to console those who mourned, to provide mutual help in time of difficulty, and to befriend others with honesty and sincerity. No meetings were held after the first one.

The Customs Improvement Society was organized in 1915 to improve the customs and habits of the village. It was still operating in 1931. The chairman of the society was the village head. Early marriage, expensive funerals, and foot-binding were some of the customs they worked to change. In reporting on the work of the society, the officers stated that some 80 per cent of the men used to marry before they were 20 years old. In 1931 the figure was not over 40 per cent. At least 10 per cent of the girls used to marry before they were 16 years old. In 1931 no girls were marrying before they were 16. The society also reported that no girls under 16 years of age had bound feet.

621 185 764 Funerals used to involve visits to the temples, hiring necromancers, engaging monks, and burning paper money, paper houses, and other paper equipment for the use of the dead. Much of this expense had been given up by 1931. It was reported that none of the Chai Ch'eng families were having monks for funerals. It was also stated that the families were using bows instead of kotows in connection with funerals. The kitchen

2 Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

621 185 764

gods and the gate gods generally had been given up by the Chai Ch'eng families.

The Admire the Sages Society was organized by the school teachers in 1906 to encourage the people to imitate the good people of the past. In 1913 other educated people were included in the society membership. The Mi brothers and other prominent men gave lectures at the one or two meetings that were held every year. After 1921 meetings were held only every three years. The principal of the village school could call a meeting of the society, but it was completely inactive in 1931.

621 185

Promotion of Agriculture

From 1904 to 1908 Ting Hsien suffered from drought and the farmers had poor crops. Mr. Mi, the village head, and his assistant, Mr. Hsü, consulted with the other village elders as to how they might encourage the villagers to dig wells to provide water for irrigation. In 1906 eight wells were dug on village land as a demonstration, prizes were offered to encourage the poor farmers to dig wells, and arrangements were made whereby farmers, in need of money to finance the cost of a well, might borrow half the cost of the necessary materials. The loans were to be repaid after the harvest. Over ten years' time more than one hundred wells were dug.

621 185 312 731

Following the success of this program, the village elders encouraged the owners of small fields to dig cooperative wells where the individual fields were not large enough to warrant the digging of separate wells. There was great need for such cooperation as the study of a group of 3,763 fields belonging to 1,136 families in four other villages showed that only 7.9 per cent of the fields had 10 or more mu, and only 0.7 per cent had 25 or more mu.[2] A good well could irrigate from 25 to 30 mu.

The village elders provided that where land was held by a mortgagee he should pay his share of the cost of digging a cooperative well but he should be repaid by the mortgagor when he redeemed the property. Where land was held under lease the owners should pay the cost of the well, but should be reimbursed by increasing the rent. The village elders set up regulations for settling disagreements between mortgagors and mortgagees and between tenants and landlords over the cost of the wells and the increased rent.

Village regulations provided for the care of the public wells and the

2. See Chapter X.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

621 185 312 731 cooperative wells. The latter were to be looked after in turn by the various owners. Those responsible were required to report to the village office before they covered the wells to protect them from frost. If the well was damaged because of improper coverage the person responsible was required to repair the damage and pay a fine of five dollars. The village office was to keep a record of the owners of the cooperative wells and the time when each was to be responsible for the care of the well. The regulations required that after the wells had been covered for the winter and after they had been opened in the spring the village officers visit the fields and inspect the wells to determine whether they were being kept in proper condition. The well digging program received a further impetus from the drought of 1920–21.

In 1928 Chai Ch'eng had 390 wells, 96 for the domestic use of the 366 families and 294 for irrigation. A large proportion of the crop area of the village must have been irrigated, for the average area per well was 33 mu. Chai Ch'eng had the largest number of wells of any of the 62 villages in the Experimental District, four times the average number.

621 241 625 Watching the ripening crops to prevent theft before harvest time was another agricultural activity of the village. The watchmen were held responsible for any loss there might be through theft. This work had been done previously by the Green Crop Society, but in 1904 the village officers and elders adopted a series of regulations and employed eight men to watch the crops before the autumn harvest. Two men were assigned to each quarter of the compass. By 1913, when the crop watching was made part of the program of the Agriculture and Forestry Society, it was possible to protect the crops with only four watchers.

The wages of the crop watchers, which one report gave as 10 cents a day plus food, were met by contributions from the land owners. These were paid in kind and were graduated according to the amount of land held by each owner. The field report states that those with from 20 to 50 mu were to pay three gills (0.03 of a tou) of grain per mu; those with from 50 to 100 mu paid five gills per mu, while those who had more than 100 mu contributed seven gills per mu. If there was any surplus it apparently was kept as a special earmarked account rather than added to the general funds of the village.

In 1905, the year after the village engaged the crop watchers, regulations were adopted to cover the protection of trees planted in the village area. Two men were engaged to watch the trees and protect them

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from damage and theft. Our field report said that the protection was effective and encouraged the villagers to plant trees in the village and on some 200 mu of land that were too sandy for farming, but it did not state how the work was financed or how long it was continued.

The village Agriculture and Forestry Society was organized in 1913. Mr. Mi Chu-wu and four assistants were the board. The society included in its program the promotion of well digging, deeper plowing, the use of more fertilizer, the planting of trees, and the planting of more cotton. The society also took over the crop watching program.

In 1908 a pest of worms attacked the fields just before the harvest. The farmers were inclined to do nothing because they believed the gods sent the worms as a punishment, but Mr. Mi Ch'un-ming persuaded the villagers to join together to catch and kill the worms. In 1915, when locusts were found north of the hsien city, the Chai Ch'eng farmers formed the Insect Destroying Society. The first meeting was attended by over one hundred persons. A chairman, four secretaries, and eight temporary officers were elected. An annual meeting was held during the summer to discuss how to get rid of any locusts that might appear. The villagers were advised how to clean and take care of their farms so that the locusts could be kept down.

At the time of our study it was the rule that all the village residents must help destroy pests. The village gong was rung by the managers of the society to call out the village in time of need. The regulations provided that those who were purposely absent from the meetings of the Society or from any campaign against locusts should be fined.

In discussing the efforts made to promote the village agricultural program, one of the men said "Though not much development is made, the spirit is not to be neglected".

Village Market

The village market was held on the 4th, 9th, 14th, 19th, 24th, and 29th of the lunar month. On the 14th of the 8th month, the day before the fall festival, there were 262 sellers in the food section of the market. Prices of food and other details are given in Chapter XIV.

Industrial Organization

In 1913 Mr. Mi encouraged the weavers of the village to buy a new type of iron loom to replace the old style wooden loom they had been

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using. The new style machine made it possible to weave some four or five pieces of cloth per day instead of one or two.

In 1914 the Home Industry Society was organized to continue the iron loom promotion work and to develop a program for the judging and encouragement of industrial production. It was reported that the villagers bought some 60 of the new looms. The people felt the campaign had been so successful that they presented a medal to Mr. Mi for his work on the program.

After the new looms were well established Mr. Mi encouraged the village to engage some special weaving teachers who could teach additional people how to weave and also improve the quality of the output. The necessary funds for the teachers were to be raised by the society.

In 1923 sock knitting machines were introduced in Chai Ch'eng. At the time of our study five families had them.

Road Repair

491 621

In 1914 the village roads were in such poor shape and the drainage to the east and south was so poor that the roads were apt to be washed away in the summer rains. At the suggestion of the village heads $200 was taken from the village funds and used for the repair of the roads. The leaders in the eight districts were directed to inspect the roads and persuade the residents to repair them. The regulations provided that, if the roads were in very poor condition, the whole village should plan to repair them. Regulations were also adopted to prevent the storing of fertilizer, fuel, and other things in the streets.

Sanitation Office

621 364

Sun Fa-hsü, when he came to Chai Ch'eng in 1915, pointed out many unsanitary conditions in the village, fertilizer piled in the street, bad drainage, and flooding during the summer rains. The village head and elders met to discuss the sanitary conditions and decided to appoint two men for each of the five streets who should compel all the families to clean their share of the streets and to improve the sanitary conditions in their houses. Once again the roads were repaired and the planting of trees along the streets was encouraged.

At the suggestion of the village head a Sanitation Office was organized in October, 1915. A director and five secretaries were appointed and regulations were adopted. The regulations provided that every day be-

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fore sunset every family was to clean the street in front of its house. If fertilizer had to be put in the street it should be removed within three days. Plans were made to vaccinate the children. While the vaccination was to be arranged by the Bureau, the cost of the vaccine was to be met from philanthropic rather than village funds. It could not be determined how successful the vaccination program had been.

The field investigator commented on the fact that the village looked different because of the work of the Bureau, the streets were clean and repaired, and trees were growing along the roads. He stated that in winter the snow was cleaned off the streets in one day.

Mutual Protection

In November, 1915, the mutual protection program was organized. The village was divided into five districts, and a leader was chosen from each district to be responsible for the protection work. Two night watchmen were engaged. In case of theft all the village was summoned by the ringing of the village gong.

If any of the villagers were hurt or killed in attempting to catch a robber it was customary that they should be given a sum for medical expenses or their families be given a funeral present. No indemnity was given to the family that had been robbed. The expenses of the mutual protection program were to be paid by the entire village.

Education

Modern education was started in Chai Ch'eng in 1894 with the establishment, apparently under private auspices, of a Yü Cheng school for boys. The school was taken over by the village in 1905 when $1,500 was secured from the village treasury for the building of a schoolhouse at the east end of the village. This had five classrooms and five teacher's rooms. The new building made it possible to enlarge the school. It was enlarged again in 1913 when another $2,200 was appropriated from the village treasury for the building of three classrooms, 12 chien of rooms for the students, and five chien for the kitchen and dining rooms. This enlargement made it possible for the village to take over the higher primary class that Mr. Mi Chien-san had started at his own expense the previous year. He also was financing higher and lower primary schools for girls. When the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü saw the educational development at Chai Ch'eng he contributed first $600 and later another $350

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toward the erection of additional buildings for the higher primary. The Vice-Governor of the province gave $2,000 in 1914 for buildings for both the boys' and the girls' schools.

In 1930 there were over 80 chien in the buildings of the boys' school and over 20 chien in the girls' school. The enrolment was 153 boys and 95 girls. There were four classes in the boys' lower primary and two in the higher primary. The girls had four lower primary classes, but only one in the higher primary.

In 1914 a village Educational Committee was organized to administer the village schools. All those who were higher primary graduates were automatically members of the committee. The committee met twice a year, in the new year and summer vacations, to discuss school problems. The administrative work of the committee was handled by an executive committee of nine members and four secretaries elected for a term of two years. The Educational Committee was given considerable executive power, for it discussed school budgets, school principals, and improvement of the schools.

One of the first acts of the Educational Committee was to make the village education free and universal. A special village meeting was called to discuss the problem. Twelve regulations were adopted and a special committee was appointed. All children from six to 14 years of age were to go to school and their schooling was to be free. A list of all children was to be prepared and sent to the village office one month before the opening of school and a supervisor was to notify all parents to send their children to their respective classes. The supervisor was to call on the parents if their children did not appear during the first week of school. Although there was no tuition charge, the village parents evidently found many reasons why their children should not go to school, for in 1926 the Mass Education Movement found a large amount of illiteracy among the young adults of Chai Ch'eng.

In 1927 the Educational Committee was changed to the School Board of Directors. The membership was set at 22.

In 1908 the village had no higher primary school so was faced with the problem of what it should do for poor children who wanted to continue their education after they had finished the lower primary school. Mr. Mi Feng-chi discussed the problem with the village leaders. It was finally decided to establish a village loan fund and make loans of $18 to each of seven lower primary graduates so that they might attend the

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higher primary school in another village. The loans were to be repaid when the boys were independent. The addition of the village higher primary classes in 1913, naturally, brought the discontinuance of the village loan plan, but Mr. Mi strongly recommended it as a very advantageous plan for families and clans.

The higher primary classes of Chai Ch'eng attracted students from nearby villages that had only lower primary schools. In some villages higher tuition was charged for children coming from outside villages, but the Chai Ch'eng records did not show any charge made for such children. The opening of higher primary classes by some neighboring villages in the late 1920s reduced somewhat the enrolment in the Chai Ch'eng schools.

The enrolment of the Chai Ch'eng boys' school ranged from 45 to 57 from 1904 to 1912, but during the next four years it increased by some thirty students per year until, in 1916, it was 175. The opening of the higher primary school in 1913 and the general stimulus to education given by the Revolution would account for the increase. In 1917 the enrolment dropped to 136 because of the heavy floods that caused some villages to give up all their school work for a year. Two years later the number was again up to 172. The maximum number was 178 in 1922 and 1923. The enrolment was down to 146 in 1929 and 153 in 1930. We do not have the year by year enrolment of the girls' school, but in 1930 it was 95. That year the total number of students, boys and girls, was 248.

The number of students graduating from the boys' higher primary school in 1931 was 17. This was considerably below the 27 graduates in 1923 and the 24 in 1927. The drop evidently was due to the opening of a higher primary school in a neighboring village and the withdrawing of its pupils from the Chai Ch'eng school. The total number of graduates in the 16 years from 1916 through 1931 was 350, an average of 23 per year.

The cost of operating the village higher and lower primary schools was given as approximately $3,000 per year. This was an average of $12.10 per student, nearly twice the hsien average of $6.40 for both higher and lower primary students.

Chai Ch'eng's school calendar was different from that of the neighboring villages. While the schools were closed for the usual New Year's vacation, they did not conform to the agricultural calendar and close

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for the spring and autumn harvests. They had instead a summer vacation, the only one of the 62 villages in the Experimental District to close its schools at that time.

Judging from our population studies[3] Chai Ch'eng's children of primary school age, from six to 14, numbered approximately 400. However, it is not possible to say that 62 per cent of the school age children, 73 per cent of the boys and 51 per cent of the girls, were in school, as some 10 per cent of the lower and higher primary students were over 14 years of age, and there were some higher primary students from neighboring villages. Even so, it was evident that Chai Ch'eng had a very good school record, with approximately two-thirds of the boys and nearly one half of the girls from six to 14 years of age in school.

An educational survey of the 62 villages in the Experimental District found 276 men and 32 women who were graduates of at least junior middle school, or approximately the ninth grade in American schools. Of these, 33 men and 11 women lived in Chai Ch'eng, one-eighth of the men and one-third of the women. These proportions show very clearly Chai Ch'eng's educational progress.

After the Mass Education Movement made Chai Ch'eng its rural headquarters in 1926 it established several schools there, both to improve the educational situation in the village and to experiment with the rural education program. There were Yü Ts'ai personal training schools for the higher primary graduates and others who were capable of carrying the work, separate schools for men and women. The men's school met from 7 to 9 in the evening, the women's classes from 9 to 12 and 2 to 4. The men's subjects included literature, civics, letter writing, geography, history, village self-government, and "common sense". The women's studies were these plus home economics, home industry, Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles, abacus, penmanship, and games. There were 45 students in the men's school and 37 in the women's.

In the fall of 1927 the Movement also organized four experimental schools, two for boys and two for girls. Two were of higher primary and two of lower primary level. The boys' schools met from 7 to 9 in the evening, the girls' higher school from 10 to 12 in the morning, and the lower school from 2 to 4 in the afternoon, six days a week. The enrolment of the experimental school was 107—55 boys and 52 girls.

3. See Chapter II.

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The curriculum of the lower primary classes included the Thousand Characters, penmanship, the abacus, and phonetics. The boys' higher primary courses were higher Chinese readers, letter writing, civics, history, the abacus, and agriculture. The girls' school substituted home economics for agriculture.

The Movement also established two of the Thousand Character schools in Chai Ch'eng, one for boys and one for girls. These met two hours a day, the boys in the evening, the girls in the afternoon. The eight weeks' course was designed to teach the pupils to read and write the Thousand Characters. Later it was found possible to reduce the time to six weeks.

In 1928 53 per cent of the 11–24 year age group in Chai Ch'eng were literate, 65 per cent of the males and 36 per cent of the females.

A Parent Teachers' Association was established in 1906 to bring the school and the families together. There were two meetings a year, with discussions, exhibitions, and consultations on student characteristics and problems.

Adult Education

In the field of adult education there was a Patriotic Lecture Hall and a library and newspaper reading room. The lecture hall was organized by the village head in 1914 with one director, one manager, and one investigator. It was housed in a borrowed building formerly used by a girls' school. One of the first tasks undertaken by the lecture hall was the training of the village officers in self-government, citizenship, hsien and village development programs, and model village affairs. Later a similar course was given to a group of educated villagers who might serve as village officers. These courses were given prior to the organization, in 1915, of the Village Self-Government Council.

Anyone who was intelligent, of good character and who knew the purposes of the Hall could become a lecturer if he was introduced by two members. The lectures given had to have the approval of the magistrate. The lectures were largely based on the hsien government lecture notes but also included considerable material on the Japanese village organization. The chief lecturers were the village head, the head of the higher primary school, and the school teachers.

Lectures ordinarily were given on market days. For lectures of special interest, that would attract too many listeners for the lecture hall,

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a stage was set up in the school grounds or other public place. Benches were provided for the audience. Records were kept of the lectures given. Necessary expenses were paid by the Lecture Hall but it did not provide food for the lecturers.

The Library and Newspaper Reading Room was established in September, 1915, as part of the Model Village program. It was located in the buildings of the higher primary school and the head of the school was put in charge of the reading room. Later the reading room was moved to the village office. The reading room was open two hours per day. The library had some 1,100 books and magazines on its shelves.

Mr. Mi Ch'un-ming and Mr. Hsü Chin contributed many of the first collection of books. Such good progress was made with the library that at the end of the year the head of the Provincial Bureau of Education contributed $100 and the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü gave a large number of books. The reading room had three daily newspapers and two monthly periodicals.

Chai Ch'eng showed a long list of organizations with many officers and committees. Some of the offices were held concurrently by the village head or the district heads and the activity was that of a sub-committee of the village government. Others were entirely divorced from the village government and were separate community organizations. Whatever the list of officers in the village organizations, it was clear to our investigators that about 20 men were responsible for the community activities of Chai Ch'eng. The quality of leadership is indicated by the fact that in 1916 Mr. Mi Ti-kang was appointed vice-chairman of the Hopei provincial government.

This story of the organization of the model village of Chai Ch'eng pictures a community that was fortunate in having more than an average number of capable leaders, that had had, through its leaders, early contact with outside ideas, and had adopted some of them in its community life. When stimulated by the energetic, active, and progressive magistrate Sun Fa-hsü, the village, in a few months, organized or reorganized many different types of community activity. When his stimulus was removed the community program lost much of its momentum. but was continued in good measure. New and progressive ideas, brought by the Mass Education Movement, gave new stimulus to village activities and development, but our survey did not attempt any study of that change.

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Community Organization in Other Villages

Other villages had much less community organization than was set up under Chai Ch'eng's model village program, but at least three organizations were found in every village. They were the Village Government, the Home Guard, and an organization to protect the crops, either a Farm Association or an independent Green Crop Association. One report said that there was an Anti-Foot-binding Association in every village, but they were not active as foot-binding had been generally discontinued.

In the 62 villages of the Experimental District, only nine villages had more than the three or four general organizations. Besides those in Chai Ch'eng, the total number was only 14. About half of these were inactive because of the lack of funds for expenses. There were six different kinds: school board (3), sanitary club (2), granary (2), wartime provisions (2), anti-litigation (3), anti-opium (2).

Two villages had had granaries that collected grain during good years for use during bad times. The amount was one-half sheng or one sheng of grain per mu, but only the families with more than 20 mu of land were asked to contribute. The grain was all taken by the troops in 1927 and 1928.

The organizations to collect food for the soldiers functioned only during war times. By assessing all the families according to the amount of their land, the village head, or his deputy, and a representative group of villagers attempted to provide the rations demanded of them by the army.

The Anti-Litigation Societies were organized to provide an arbitration group to hear and attempt to settle all village disagreements before they were taken to the hsien courts. The 1929 village regulations of the Provincial Government called for the organization of an Anti-Litigation Society in every village.

Opium and opium derivatives had been enough of a problem to warrant anti-narcotic organizations in two village but they had both been discontinued for lack of support.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

problems have been analyzed. The villagers certainly have many more problems in their life, but it is assumed that a study of these activities would sufficiently show the relative importance of the various cooperative units in the solution of their problems. It should be further added that the villagers may or may not know of the existence or the nature of their problems. Their activities may thus be intended or unintended, purposive or random, and their institutions and associations may be enacted or cresive, contractual or customary.

It may be clear by now that the family is not the only unit of social cooperation in this village, but rather it is the core in the midst of many other units. In the solution of the problems of hunger and sex, the home is the center of activities, and members of the family or family-household work together in a division of labor and cooperation.

Social order is maintained by both law and custom. In either case, the family-household acts as a center to link together all activities into a system. The household is the basic point of reference. The family is the unit of responsibility. While village folks are afraid of getting mixed with politics, there seems to be no sure way for them to escape. The principle of inaction may be good to follow when life goes on smoothly, but obviously this is impossible. Their own problems together with external forces have broken up the family wall. A form of cooperation larger than the family has to work itself out.

So is worship a family matter, but the construction of a temple and its management and up-keep require a unit of cooperation larger than the family. Even a unit as large as a village may not be sufficient. The temple is now more than a place of worship. The school is here. The store is here. These two additional functions will continue to keep the temple buildings in good shape. But no single family can keep all these institutions functioning.

The field of social communication has not only shown that the family as a unit is insufficient to meet the needs of free association of its members. It also indicates that the village is not a very strongly integrated whole. Internally, it falls into many associations, formal or informal.

But externally, forces such as marriage, economic exchange, political organization and the process of urbanization in general have broken down the village wall. P'ing-chiao-tsun is certainly not a self-

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

their former condition. The monetary inflation was accelerated in the last years of the war. Those who had little reserve were very hard hit. Some of the clever rich had profited. The short period of price-falling, immediately after the war, had a bad effect on those who had full confidence in the government, when the inflation came back again even at a more rapid rate of acceleration.

Members of the richest family were not in the village. They looked for and lived in cities, as places of security and merriment. Their house and farm were in the hands of two old laborers. These two old laborers of the house became managers of the farm and hired other laborers for the work. The relation of the two laborers to members of the house was one not merely economic in nature, but something personal. The rent of the land was not fixed but varied from year to year at the good will of the managing-laborers. The house was very much dilapidated which was a sign of negligence on the fact of the managing-laborers, and the scant attention paid by the proprietors to their property. The relation of the two groups of laborers was interesting. The manager-laborers had not sufficient time to assume the attitude of a managing-farmer. They commanded the respect of the hired laborers, not so much by their authority, but rather because of their skill in farming.

The major effect of the end of the war was the change in the formal political machinery, and the consequential shift in its personnel. The *pao-chia* system was there when we first revisited the village, but the *fang-li* system and the *Hsin Min Hui* were no longer in existence. The school principal became the deputy head of the *lien-pao* together with new heads of the six old *chia*. Beneath this superficial structure was the struggle for power between two groups. An ambitious duet of father and son wanted to control the *lien-pao*. They organized a group of self-protection militia with the explicit purpose of strengthening the protection of life and property in the local district. They utilized external influence to oust the head, and the deputy head, of the *lien-pao* by accusing them as collaborators of the enemy.

Amidst this struggle for power came a mishap to the deputy head, and his removal from the position of school principal. Whether his removal had anything to do with the political struggle was not known, but following this removal he resigned his office of deputy head. The whole episode was certainly a blow to Mr. H. As we may recall, Mr. H. had the ambition to restore the status

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

and wealth which his father once enjoyed. In our first revisit, he was undoubtedly the most influential man in the district. As principal of the school and deputy head of the *lien-pao*, he had both fame and power. For additional income he practiced medicine. He learned the old technique of medical treatment from his mother and the friends of his father. He tried to combine this old method with the new ways which he learned from his friend in the city. In his home, no one could fail to observe the amount of money he invested in medical supplies.

Returning to changes in the school, when Mr. H. was removed from his office as school principal, he had the desks and chairs which he said were his own moved back to his own home. A man of forty-five was sent by the Bureau of Education of the Municipal Government of Peiping to take his place. In addition, there were two teachers to teach a group of sixty boys and girls of six to fifteen years of age. Textbooks were replaced when the war was over. There was not any sign of Japanese influence left in the village.

On the whole, the villagers had kept their old ways of thinking, feeling and doing. Whatever superficial changes might have been introduced, they were formal and had slight effect on the belief and conception of life of the villagers. The old ways of the villagers had a high degree of persistency. While certain villagers may have had difficulty in surviving the external and the internal wars, their ways of doing, feeling and thinking may survive long and well.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

596 supervision of the *chia-chang* of the religious-families or the village leaders.

594 When the natural-family coincides with the economic-family then the father is head and assumes full responsibility to the higher *chia-chang* or village leaders for the conduct of the members of his group.[1]

The natural family was merely a part of these other and larger groupings.

> . . . It provides biological continuity of the sib and other groups and feeds members into the other groups. Actually it is fundamental in the village, but from the point of view of theory embodied in tradition and convention, little account is taken of it for itself. It may be called the natural-family or the marriage-group.[2]

It cannot be over-emphasized that this intricate and comprehensive system is the one great pattern of Chinese social life. It is recognized by the Chinese sages as the basic social grouping. For the great masses of the people, their interests — social, economic, religious — center largely here.

As Kulp points out, the social system was one which exalts age and puts the control in the hands of the elders. "The spiritual community" (the recently or long deceased heads of the clan), as well as the original founder, reinforces the authority of its successors, for all their spirits are supposed to watch over the destinies of the clan.

THE VILLAGE

• 621 361 The next basic grouping of the Chinese social life is the village where approximately 80 or 90 per cent [3] of the people of China live. These villages are large or small clusters of farmers' homes, surrounded by fields.

[1] Kulp, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 149.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

[3] Monroe, *China, A Nation in Evolution* (New York, 1928), p. 50.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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farmers' homes, surrounded by fields. In the village studied by Kulp the population was almost entirely composed of one "sib." A few merchants had established themselves there but were not really considered as members of the community.

In North China the villages with which the writer has come into close contact are composed not of single family clans but rather of groups of economic families. There is also throughout North China an absence of the ancestral halls. There is, however, an emphasis on the status of the members of the old accepted families and a tendency to disregard the more recent immigrants into the community and to consider them as outsiders.

In Yen Chiu Chen, a market town of 2,300 inhabitants situated thirty miles east of Peking, the local officials in speaking of the population of the town omitted entirely to mention 700 persons composing the most of the merchant population. They had drifted into the village some time within the last 100 years and were not considered as members of the town! The largest family in the town living under one set of roofs comprised thirty persons. The number in the average economic family was six.

At Mo Shih Kou, a village some twenty miles to the north of Peking, there were three or four prominent wealthy families, relatively larger than the others, whose heads practically dominated the affairs of the village.

At Chien Ying, a village situated fifty miles east of Peking, Miss Jean Dickinson found only two large families, one household composed of thirty-seven and the other of forty-three. The average of the other families was six or seven.[1]

A student at Yenching University who investigated his own native town of Pai Ta Chai in Chien An Hsien located

[1] Jean Dickinson, *Observations on Social Life in a North China Village* (Peking, 1924).

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

621 near Tang Shan, Chihli Province, reports that the elders of the village told him that this town was settled in the Tang Dynasty (A. D. 618-905). The names of the original settlers — two clans — were Chiang and Chang. The former clan has entirely disappeared as far as is known. There is only one living descendant of the latter and his whereabouts is unknown. The greater part of the population, but by no means all, are named Li, a clan which emigrated to this village at the time of the Third Emperor of the Ming Dynasty (1403-1425).

A study of these villages would indicate the truth of Admiral Tsai Ting Kan's explanation of the difference in the nature of the population in North and South Chinese villages. In North China the successive invasions of the Manchus and the Mongolians have destroyed the continuity of the family clan system either by exterminating the members of the original clans or by forcing them to emigrate south. In the South, far distant from these waves of invasion, the same clans have had more permanent abode in their original towns and villages.

In North China a study of the life of the villages reveals many common characteristics. Villages are composed of a cluster of families rather than of one clan. These families vary from something approaching the larger "sib" to the
622 economic family. The head men of the villages are chosen from the heads of the family groups because of their general standing or "tse ke." This Chinese expression denotes a combination of age, wealth, learning and general effectiveness. The village heads are not elected in any mechanical way, but when a head man resigns or dies it is generally apparent which outstanding person would naturally assume control of the village affairs. This person is appointed at an informal conference of the important family heads.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

438 ever, the economic life of the market area is self-sufficient. The limited excess products of the villages in the district supply goods for the needs of the area.

*441 In these market towns there are small "Chambers of Commerce" of modern origin (*Shang Hui*) that have to do with making the regulations for marketing goods on the given days and also with regulating the stores and shops that grow up in the market town itself. It was found that in the above-mentioned village of Yen Chiu certain government taxes, such as the wine and tobacco taxes, were collected by the Chamber of Commerce.

THE TOWN

438 The Chinese walled towns or cities are merely outgrowths
● 621 of the market towns or enlarged trading centers, many of
632 which have prestige because they have become the political center of the county or of a larger area and are the headquarters of the local prefect.[1]

*441 The guilds of the type described in this paper are, so far
*467 as has been discovered, confined to the towns and cities. It must not be forgotten, however, that the apprentices in these guilds come largely from the country and bring with them the clan and village background above described. The walled towns, moreover, are still the centers for the markets for the surrounding rural areas, which are held on fixed days in each month.

162 The *China Year Book* for 1926 lists 36 cities with a population each of 1,000,000. There are some 1,500 cities in China with a total of about 75,000,000 inhabitants.[2] Most of the city population is engaged in industrial, commercial or political activities.

[1] *Cf.* Williams, *China, Yesterday and Today* (New York, 1923), and Tao and Leong, *Village and Town Life in China* (London, 1915).

[2] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 123.